

THE LIBERATOR
IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY
AT NO. 25, CORNHILL, BY
ISAAC KNAPP.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Editor.

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BOSTON.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1838.

OLIVER JOHNSON, EDITOR PRO TEM.

THE BALLOT-BOX A REMEDY FOR NATIONAL CRIMES!—DR. BEECHER'S SERMON ON DUELING APPLIED TO SLAVERY.

We this week conclude our extracts from Dr. Beecher's sermon. We think it must be admitted that his arguments appear to much better advantage when directed against slavery than they did as applied to dueling.

PUBLIC OPINION MUST BE COMBINED AND EX-
PRESSED.

The withholding our suffrage from [slaveholders] will tend to annihilate the practice, by impressing the public opinion against it . . .

Let the opinion of society on the subject of [slaveholding] be collected, combined, and expressed in the votes of the people, and it will operate most sensibly upon that class of men who now most despise it. It will involve a penalty which they cannot but feel, and which they cannot evade. . . . In this way we cut the sinews of [slaveholding], and bind to good behavior by the motive which before impelled to the crime. The opinion of the people, that which is in fact public opinion, becomes monitory, assumes influence, and overwhelms the short opinions of bloody men. Motives of compassion and of justice, both demand this expression of public sentiment.

THE ONLY REMEDY.

Withholding the public suffrage from [slaveholders] is the only method in which there is the least prospect of arresting the practice of [slaveholding]. We may reason, and alienate, and lament, and remonstrate, and threaten, and legislate, and multiply penalties, and the evil will still progress. Enclosed by the subtlety of law and shielded by the perfidious patronage of men in office, regardless of our grief and fearless of our indignation, they will laugh at our zeal and defy our efforts.

There are, indeed, many [slaveholders] in our land, and many half-apologists for the crime, from whom no aid is to be expected. There are many too unprincipled, and others too indolent, to be engaged by considerations of duty; and there are some, and even professors of religion, whose strong party prejudices, and political attachments to [slaveholders], will be liable to steel them against conviction, or impel them to make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience. But after all these deductions, there are yet remaining multitudes, thousands and thousands, whose abhorrence of [slaveholding] though diminished by the frequency of the crime, is still sufficient to overwhelm its abettors with infamy. Nothing is necessary to awaken and embody in one formidable phalanx of opposition the great mass of our plain and honest people, but to place the crime in its hideous light with widows and with orphans.

The tax is too heavy; the victims offered to the gods are too numerous. Might the evil, however, be confined to its present limits, it would be less intolerable; but we have no ground to indulge such a hope. . . . It will stalk through our towns and desolate our villages. Shall we turn our backs to the maledictions preparing for them? What if these evils may not be realized in our day—have we no regard to posterity?

THE REMEDY AN EASY ONE.

The facility with which, in the way proposed, this evil may be suppressed, will render us forever inexorable—will constitute our partakers in the sin, if we do not make the attempt.

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THE MINISTERS CAN AND MUST DO THE WORK!

Nor is it impracticable thus to exhibit the subject. MINISTERS OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS, ALL UNITED, WOULD BE ABLE TO EFFECT IT PERFECTLY.

Let each, in his appointed sphere,

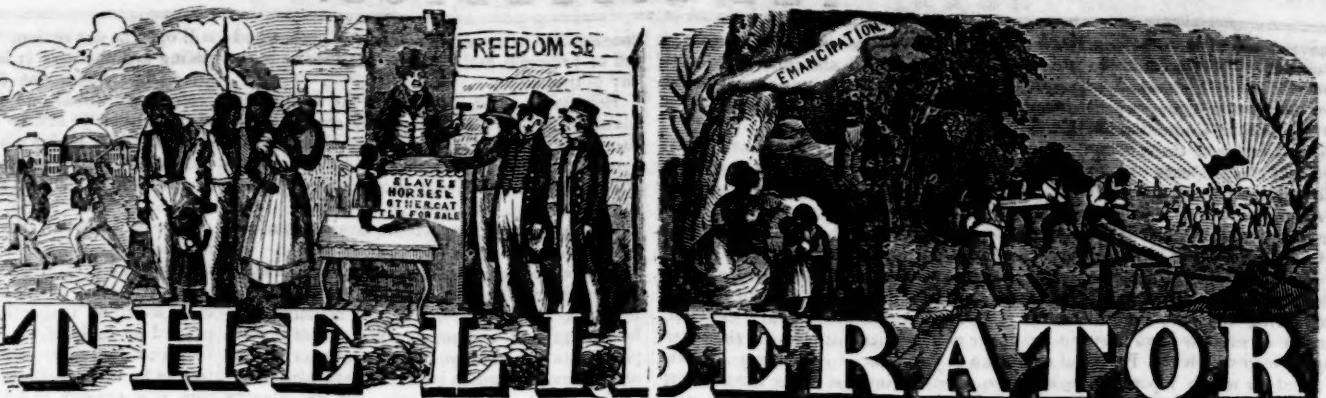
make due exertion to enlighten his flock, and the field of indignation would soon begin to blaze through all the nation.

And if beside such exertions, further efforts should be needful, the newspaper, the magazine, and tract, may be enlisted as auxiliaries.

Nor can any reasonably object to such conduct on the part of ministers; nor will any one probably attempt it, who does not for himself or some favorite, fear the consequences. Our obligations are most solemn to lift up our voice, and to put forth our exertions against this sin.

Our God calls us to from heaven—the damned call us to from hell—the blood of murdered victims from the ground lifts up its voice and unites with the cry of the widow and the fatherless—the example of our Saviour, of the prophets, of the apostles, forbids us to be silent, or inactive.

It is in vain to cry out ‘priest-craft,’ or ‘political preaching;’ these watch-words will not answer here. The crime we oppose is peculiar to no party; it is common to all. It is a crime too horrid to be palliated, too threatening to be longer endured in officers of government. Any political effect would be the consequence merely, not the object of our exertions. It would also be small and momentary; but, should it be great, such effect ought not to bring censure upon us, or alter the course of duty. If we may not denounce [slaveholding] because men of political eminence are guilty of the crime; because the enlightenment of the consciences of our people would affect an election; every crime would soon find a sanctuary in the example of some great politician. Our mouths would be shut—we might not whisper the guilt of robbery, assassination, and murder of one kind and so dead to the guilt of [slaveholding]! If the effect of [slaveholding] upon the public mind is not great, why is it that murder can be committed in open day; the crime be made notorious, nay, proclaimed in the newspaper, and the murderer remain unnoticed in his dwelling? Why does he not flee? . . . If the prevalence



VOL. VIII.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

NO. 32

FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1838.

such speculators; and, further, that they had a great influence with the then head of the Executive Government. I believe that this despatch may, in a great degree, be referred to the influence of those speculators, whether persons remaining in the United States and sending others out, or whether themselves going as adventurers into Texas.

I must add that this state of things was well understood in Mexico at that time. That it was, is evident from the report laid before the Mexican Congress in 1829, by the then Secretary of State, an extract of which I will now read to the House:

‘The North Americans commence by introducing themselves into the territory which they covet on pretense of commercial negotiations or of the establishment of colonies, with or without the assent of the Government to which it belongs. These colonies grow, multiply, become the predominant part in the population; and as soon as a support is found in this manner, they begin to set up rights which it is impossible to sustain in a serious discussion, and to bring forward ridiculous pretensions, founded upon historical facts which are admitted by nobody; such as La Salle’s Voyages, now known to be a falsehood, but which serve as a support, at this time, for their claim to Texas. . . . These pretended opinions are for the first time presented to the world by unknown writers; and the labor which is employed by others in offering proofs and reasons, is spent by them in repetitions and multiplied allegations, for the purpose of drawing the attention of their fellow-citizens, not upon the justness of the proposition, but upon the advantages and interests to be obtained or subverted by their admission.’

‘These machinations in the country they wish to acquire are then brought to light by the appearance of explorers, some of whom settle on the soil, and others of whom, by means of the right of sovereignty, or possession of the land. These possessors excite by degrees movements which disturb the political state of the country in dispute; and then follow dissents and dissatisfaction calculated to fatigue the patience of the legitimate owner, and to diminish the usefulness of the administration and of the exercise of authority. When things have come to this pass, which is precisely the present state of things in Texas, the diplomatic management commences. The inquiries, the representations, the discussions, the disputes, the interests of the colonists therein established, the insurrection of adventurers and savages instigated by them, and the pertinacity with which the opinion is set up as to their right of possession, become the subjects of notes full of expressions of justice and moderation, until, with the aid of other incidents which are never wanting in the course of diplomatic relations, the desired end is attained of concluding an arrangement honorable for one party, as it is advantageous to the other.’

‘It has been said earlier, that when the United States of the North have succeeded in giving the predominance to the colonists introduced into the country, they had in view, they set up rights and bring forward pretended claims founded upon disputed historical facts, the truth of which is easily可得。 These are the causes of some critical conjecture to which they suppose that the attention of Government must be directed. This policy, which has produced good results to them, they have commenced carrying into effect with Texas. The public prints in those States, including those which are more immediately under the influence of their Government, are engaged in discussing the right they imagine they have to the country as far as the Rio Bravo. Hand bills are printed on the same subject, and thrown into general circulation, whose object is to persuade the people of the utility and expediency of the proposed project. Some of these bills assert that Providence has directed the Rio Bravo as the natural boundary of those States, which has induced an English writer to speak of their right of possession, become the subjects of notes full of expressions of justice and moderation, until, with the aid of other incidents which are never wanting in the course of diplomatic relations, the desired end is attained of concluding an arrangement honorable for one party, as it is advantageous to the other.’

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With such considerations before you, why do you wish to vote for such men? What have they done for you, what can they do, that better men cannot as happily accomplish? And will you incur all this guilt, and hazard all these consequences for nothing? Have you no religion, no conscience, no love to your country, no attachment to liberty, no humanity, no sympathy, no regard to your own welfare in this life, and no fear of consequences in the life to come? Oh my countrymen, awake! Awake to crimes which know not a limit—to miseries which will make you desolate.

But it is difficult to know in all cases who are good men. True; and will you therefore vote for those whom you know to be bad men? Rather discard those whom you know to be bad men, and scrutinize critically the characters of those who profess to be good, and after your utmost care, you will be sufficiently exposed to deception.

THE TERRIBLE RESPONSIBILITY.

YOU HAVE often lamented the prevalence of [slaveholding], but have not known how, as individuals, to do anything to arrest the evil. Now, you perceive what you can do. The remedy is simple, and certain; and if you do not apply it, if you do not continue to vote for [slaveholders] and thus to uphold the crime, you are partakers in the sin, and accountable for all the evils which will ensue, and which you may now so easily prevent.

OUR GUILT EXPOSES US TO THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS.

DO NOT SO INVESTIGATE AGAINST [slaveholding] IN PARTICULAR? Because, at present, it is a great and alarming national sin; because no other crime with such shameless effrontery, bids defiance to the laws of God and man; because no other crime is so palliated, justified, and with such impunity sanctioned by the example of the greatest; and, of course, no other crime has so alarming an aspect upon the principles of our young men, and the moral sensibilities of our country. I may add, that no other description of criminals, if they escape with impunity, may publish their crimes, glory in their shame, and still be rewarded with the confidence and honor of their country. The crisis is an awful one; and this apathy to a crime of the deepest dye, is a prelude of approaching death. But, though there is a peculiar reason for attempting to arouse the listless attention of the public to this sin, there are decisive objections to the application of this remedy. The [slaveholding] is a despot, who will not be moved by threats, nor by appeals to his良知. He is a profligate, the drunkard, the libertine, the Sabbath-breaker, the adulterer, the gambler, are all disqualified to act as legislators; and no man with an enlightened conscience, can vote for them.

THE WICKEDNESS OF MEN IN OFFICE—ITS CAUSE.

But if we are so critical in our scrutiny of character, we shall never be able to find men duly qualified to manage our affairs.’ Most humiliating confession! But how has it come to pass (if true) that so many public characters are immoral men? It is because we, the people, have not even requested them to behave better. We have never made it necessary for them to be moral. We have told them, and we have told our youth who are rising to active life, that private character is a useless thing, as it respects the attainment of our suffrage, as it respects the attainment of our suffrage. We have told them, that, if they pleased, they might associate for drunkenness and midnight revelry, pray contempt upon the institutions of religion, . . . and still be esteemed halibut patriots. If it be true, that a strict scrutiny of character would exile from office many who now fill public stations, it is our criminal negligence that has brought this to pass. But the inference, that setting up moral character as a test would leave us destitute of proper candidates, is groundless—it is the very way to multiply them. Let it once be made known, that a fair private character is indispensable to the attainment of public suffrage, and reform will take place. And besides this, our young men will be growing up to habits of virtue under the guardian influence of this restraint. At first, you may encounter a little self-denial, by discrediting men of irregular lives in whom you have been accustomed to confide. But their places will soon be filled by an host of men of fair fame, and better qualified to serve their country.

JOINED QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

But, it will be said, especially in cases of contested elections, if you refuse to vote for this man because he is a [slaveholder], his opponent, a worse man will come in.

A worse man cannot come in. The [slaveholder] is a [man-stealer] and is a man's difference from another. The crime we oppose is peculiar to no party; it is common to all. It is a crime too horrid to be palliated, too threatening to be longer endured in officers of government. Any political effect would be the consequence merely, not the object of our exertions. It would also be small and momentary; but, should it be great, such effect ought not to bring censure upon us, or alter the course of duty. If we may not denounce [slaveholding] because men of political eminence are guilty of the crime; because the enlightenment of the consciences of our people would affect an election; every crime would soon find a sanctuary in the example of some great politician. Our mouths would be shut—we might not whisper the guilt of robbery, assassination, and murder of one kind and so dead to the guilt of [slaveholding]! If the effect of [slaveholding] upon the public mind is not great, why is it that murder can be committed in open day; the crime be made notorious, nay, proclaimed in the newspaper, and the murderer remain unnoticed in his dwelling?

SLAVEHOLDING LEADS TO OTHER CRIMES.

Not are the immediate effects of [slavery] the only consequences to be dreaded. The impunity attending the crime, the confidence reposed in [slaveholders], and the honors bestowed upon them, contribute to diminish in the public mind the guilt of crimes generally. There is a relationship in crimes which renders familiarity with one, a harbinger to familiarity with another. The wretch who has [struck down] the liberties of his fellow-men, will feel little compunction at any crime. Nor can the moral sensibilities of a people familiarized to [slaveholding] and accustomed to look upon it with indifference, be easily awakened to the guilt of other crimes.

Nor can any reasonably object to such conduct on the part of ministers; nor will any one probably attempt it, who does not for himself or some favorite, fear the consequences. Our obligations are most solemn to lift up our voice, and to put forth our exertions against this sin.

Our God calls us to from heaven—the damned call us to from hell—the blood of murdered victims from the ground lifts up its voice and unites with the cry of the widow and the fatherless—the example of our Saviour, of the prophets, of the apostles, forbids us to be silent, or inactive.

It is in vain to cry out ‘priest-craft,’ or ‘political preaching;’ these watch-words will not answer here. The crime we oppose is peculiar to no party; it is common to all. It

read is not in print. It is a letter from the late President of the United States to William Fulton, Esq., then Secretary of the Territory of Arkansas, and the endorsement upon it shows that a similar letter was addressed to the United States District Attorney in Florida. The paper I hold in my hand is a copy. I have seen the original in the hand-writing of Gen. Jackson; it is now in this city, and can be seen by any gentleman who has a curiosity to examine it.

(STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.)

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10th, 1830.

Dear Sir: It has been stated to me that an extensive expedition against Texas is organizing in the United States, with a view to the establishment of an independent Government in that province, and that Gen. Houston is to be at the head of it. From all instances communicated to me upon the subject, and which have fallen under my observation, I am induced to believe and hope (withstanding the circumstantial manner in which it is related to me) that the information I have received is erroneous, and it is unnecessary that I should add my sincere wish that it may be so. No movements have been made, nor have any facts been established, which would require or would justify the adoption of official proceedings against individuals implicated; yet so strong is the detestation of the criminal trials alluded to, and such are my apprehensions of the extent to which the peace and honor of our country might be compromised by it, that I make no motion to do every thing short of what may serve to elicit the truth, and furnish me with the necessary facts, (if they exist) to lay the foundation of further measures.

It is said that envoys have been made for the enterprise in various parts of the Union; that the confederates are to repair, as travellers, to different points of the Mississippi, where they have already chartered steamboats in which to embark: that the point of rendezvous is to be in the Arkansas Territory, and that the co-operation of the Indians is looked to by those engaged in the contemplated expedition.

I know of no one whose situation will better enable him to watch the course of things, and to detect truly and constantly the movements which may serve to sustain the sentiments which are entertained, than myself, and I know I can rely with confidence on your fidelity and activity. To secure your exertions in that regard, is the object of this letter, and it is because I wish to be considered rather as a private than an official act, that it is addressed to you instead of the Governor, (who is understood to be now in Kentucky.)

The course to be pursued to effect the object, however, must of necessity be left to your discretion, engaging only that the means selected shall be observed on your part.

If, in the performance of the duty required of you, any expenses are necessarily incurred by you, I will see that they are refunded. I am respectfully yours,

ANDREW JACKSON.

W. M. FULTON, Esq.

This was written in December, 1830. I adduce it as demonstrative proof that the President of the United States was then perfectly and fully informed of a design on the part of our citizens to produce an insurrection in Texas for the purpose of separating that Territory from the Republic of Mexico, and that the President considered the enterprise as highly criminal, and called upon the proper official persons to arrest its progress, and prevent its accomplishment.

It will be recollect that I called some time since upon the Department of State to know if any copy of such a letter was on the files of that Department, and the reply sent to this House was, that there was no such document there. I infer from that fact that this letter, though written, was never sent. And why not sent? I believe that it was the will and intention of the President, at that time, to make the interposition contained in this letter. What inference must be drawn from the fact of its never having been sent, if such, indeed was the fact? It is not in my power to explain this whole matter. The letter, however, exists. I have seen it; and I aver that the whole letter, from beginning to end, together with its endorsement, is in the handwriting of Gen. Jackson. The original letter of Dr. Mayo to the President, on which this was written, I have also seen: and any member of the House who feels curiosity on the subject, may have an opportunity of examining both letters. Now, how is this to be explained? That the letter was written beyond dispute. That this is endorsed 'strictly confidential,' in the handwriting of the letter itself, discloses, on the part of the President, his knowledge of a conspiracy which he considered highly criminal, and of which he expressed his 'detestation.' Is it not demonstrative proof of that duplicity which pervaded every part of the course of the late Administration in regard to Mexico, that there does exist such an autograph letter of the late President, and that, so far as appears, it was never sent? If it was sent, the persons are living who can prove it. The gentleman to whom the letter was written is, I believe, now in this city. The Secretary of the Territory of Florida is yet living. If both letters were sent, the fact may be proved. And if they were, then, surely, it is very incumbent on those who received them to prove what they did in regard to this foul conspiracy.

(Mr. HOWARD here asked leave to interpose. The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts said he had read to the House a document stated by him to be a strictly confidential letter of the late President of the United States, and had expressed his belief that the letter never had been sent. Will it now be in order for me to inquire of that gentleman how he got possession of such a document?)

The Speaker replied, that if the gentleman from Massachusetts chose to yield the floor for that purpose, the question might be put, but not as a question of order, to be put by authority of the House.)

Mr. ADAMS. I understand the Speaker to have decided that such an inquiry is not a question of order, but that it is competent to the gentleman to introduce it with my assent. The gentleman has my assent, and if he does make the inquiry, I am ready to give a full, clear and explicit account how this paper came into my hands. Most certainly I have not produced it here without first ascertaining the strict propriety and even delicacy of such a step. If the gentleman thinks proper to put his inquiry in a written form, so that it shall go on the journal, and that a vote of the House may be had upon it, I am ready to answer in a manner that I hope will be perfectly satisfactory. Sir, this letter interests more than that gentleman and me. It interests more than the members of this House. Yes, sir, more than the people of this nation. The gentleman is not mistaken in the importance which he attributes to this document, and which is implied in the question he has just put to the Chair; and I again say to him that I am prepared to give a full and explicit account of how it came into my possession.

(Mr. H. did not put the question.)

Mr. A. continued. And now to return to the present argument. I have produced and read this letter in order to show that in December, 1830, the President of these United States was duly informed of the existence of a conspiracy for invading Texas, producing a revolution in that province, and ultimately separating it from the Republic of Mexico, of which it constituted an integral part, and that the whole design was conducted under the command of the individual who is now President of Texas.

The hope the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOWARD) will have a full opportunity of replying to and commenting upon what I have been urging on the attention of this House for the last fortnight, if not at the present session, at least at the next; for, sir, this subject has as yet been barely opened. Tedium as my argument may have appeared to many, instead of amplifying it, I have, on the contrary, been obliged to abridge three-fourths of what I desired to say, and of what ought to be said on the various topics touched upon. But I was aware that sufficient time could not be allowed me at the present session. I do hope, how-

ever, that we shall never more hear of the gag with a view to probable consequences, it cannot reasonably be expected of slaveholders to give up their slaves. This is what we suppose to be meant, by people's being opposed to slavery 'in the abstract.'

Now, our first object is to replace these views, by an earnest conviction, embracing the heart and understanding of every man, woman and child we can reach, that duty and interest do now require of every slaveholder, the immediate emancipation of his slaves. We would make the public sentiment of the North a tonic, instead of an opiate to southern conscience; we would unite and concentrate it, until it shall tell, in a manner perfectly irresistible upon the sense of right, the pride of social standing and character, even upon the interest of the slaveholder; until it shall help to make real to his mind, and he shall feel, in the air around him, the guilt, the danger, the deep disgrace, the ruinous impolicy of the relation he sustains. We believe this course to be enjoined by Christianity, free from all constitutional objections, and consecrated by the example of our elder abolitionists, Franklin, Jay, Rush, and other revered founders of the Republic. Such have, indeed, ever been the appointed means for the removal of great social abuses. These means will not lack their accustomed power, in a country whose institutions are as emphatic as the exponents of the popular will.

Another objection originating in less friendly spirit, but resting on political grounds, is gravely put forth. We are told that our feeling for our fellow man, (at least if he be colored) must be defined by geographical lines; that we have no right to plead for an oppressed brother if he stands outside of our own political enclosure. To this is added the certainly novel theory, that it is the nature of sin to reform itself, and that the oppression of the slaveholder would soon cease, if we would only withdraw all open sympathy from the injured, to bestow it on the oppressor. However absurd and revolting these sophisms may appear to you, they are reiterated with great confidence and frequency. To state them distinctly seems all that is necessary to expose them to the contempt they merit.

(Here the morning hour expired, and Mr. ADAMS without concluding his remarks, resumed his seat.)

The subject, of course, lies over until the next session, Mr. ADAMS being entitled to the floor.)

POLITICAL.

POLITICAL ACTION.

To the Abolitionists of Massachusetts—

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, desire to offer you a few suggestions, on the course recommended to you by duty and a wise policy, in relation to the exercise of your political privileges.

The uncompromising character of the early adherents to our cause, compelled the respect of the conscientious and reflecting part of the community. They stood firm, announcing the most thorough principles, not yielding one jot to the most plausible or popular prejudices. Men at first were startled by the boldness of their position, but they had at length the satisfaction of seeing public sentiment slowly turn in their favor. The mighty re-action is felt, and we are now going forward with wind and tide. The grandeur of the principles developed,—the constancy with which they were maintained, through odium and danger,—the magnitude of the interests contended for,—these things appealed to every man in the land, who had a spark of heroism or heavenly enthusiasm in his nature. Our cause has gathered into its ranks in the short space of seven years, its hundreds of thousands; and numbers, among its friends, the most fearless, and God-devoted spirits in the land.

We mention these things, not as an idle boast, but that you may lay to heart the responsibilities that grow out of your present position. We pray you to consider what we shall say to you on this subject.

There are those who disapprove of every form of political action, on the part of abolitionists. They contend that our cause should be presented exclusively under its religious and philanthropic aspect; that it will be degraded and discredited at the North, by connecting it with politics,—while, at the South, our political efforts will rouse a more united and determined resistance to our objects.

We cannot yield to this reasoning. It proceeds, we think, upon a narrow view of the subject. Politics, rightly considered, is a branch of morals, and cannot be despised innocently. Our moral convictions must follow us to the ballot-box. They are not less imperative on us as citizens than as members of the church, or fathers of families.

In each, we have nothing to do, but to carry out our highest idea, simply and fearlessly. If the public mind is misled or vitiated on the subject of politics,—if politics has come to be considered as a game played by the desperate and unprincipled for power or emolument, it must not therefore be abandoned to them. The worldly and corrupt would like nothing better, than that the good should retire, in fear or disgust, from this wide sphere of action.

It seems to be our mission to substitute, in the minds of men, a new set of associations with the subject of politics. We believe that the tendency of the abolition efforts has, visibly, been to infuse more comprehensive principles into political bodies, and suggest to them purer motives of action, than have prevailed heretofore. Look at the dignified tone of the Reports and Resolves on Slavery and the Right of Petition, in several of the State Legislatures. Mark the high religious and moral stand assumed by Adams, Slade, Morris and others, in Congress. It is worth noting that the abolitionists form the only great party, in our age, who, aiming at a wide social reform, and operating on and through social institutions, yet rest their efforts and their hopes professedly on religious ground—on faith in God, and faith in the God-like in man. That slavery is a sin against God, has been our rallying-cry from the beginning; heard not merely from the pulpit, but in the courts of justice, the popular assembly, and the halls of government. Our strength lies, and we well know it, in the religious sentiment of men, recognizing a Christian brother in the crushed slave, and at once stimulating, emboldening and sanctifying the efforts for his deliverance.

To think of purposely keeping such a question—a question of essentially moral and religious character, but having important public bearings,—out of politics, is like the view some persons have, that religion belongs to the temple and the Sabbath, but is out of place in weekly life. Religion runs the risk of being sadly profaned, adulterated, caricatured, counterfeited in encountering or mixing with the common business or amusements of men; but we nevertheless press it in among them. This is, after all, a question of time. The subject of slavery must, obviously, sooner or later, enter deeply into general politics. Slavery is itself the creature of law, that is of political action. It can only be finally destroyed, by the same power that gave it birth.

We, however, value political action, chiefly as a means of agitating the subject. The great support of slavery, without which it could not stand in the United States, two years—is a corrupt public sentiment, among those who are not slaveholders. The current doctrine of the North, that slavery is, indeed, an evil, and if southern society were to be reconstructed, slavery should, by no means, be introduced as an element; but that in present circumstances, and

with a view to probable consequences, it cannot reasonably be expected of slaveholders to give up their slaves. This is what we suppose to be meant, by people's being opposed to slavery 'in the abstract.'

Now, our first object is to replace these views, by an earnest conviction, embracing the heart and understanding of every man, woman and child we can reach, that duty and interest do now require of every slaveholder, the immediate emancipation of his slaves. We would make the public sentiment of the North a tonic, instead of an opiate to southern conscience; we would unite and concentrate it, until it shall tell, in a manner perfectly irresistible upon the sense of right, the pride of social standing and character, even upon the interest of the slaveholder; until it shall help to make real to his mind, and he shall feel, in the air around him, the guilt, the danger, the deep disgrace, the ruinous impolicy of the relation he sustains. We believe this course to be enjoined by Christianity, free from all constitutional objections, and consecrated by the example of our elder abolitionists, Franklin, Jay, Rush, and other revered founders of the Republic. Such have, indeed, ever been the appointed means for the removal of great social abuses. These means will not lack their accustomed power, in a country whose institutions are as emphatic as the exponents of the popular will.

Another objection originating in less friendly spirit, but resting on political grounds, is gravely put forth. We are told that our feeling for our fellow man, (at least if he be colored) must be defined by geographical lines; that we have no right to plead for an oppressed brother if he stands outside of our own political enclosure.

To this is added the certainly novel theory,

that it is the nature of sin to reform itself, and that the oppression of the slaveholder would soon cease, if we would only withdraw all open sympathy from the injured, to bestow it on the oppressor.

However absurd and revolting these sophisms may appear to you, they are reiterated with great confidence and frequency. To state them distinctly seems all that is necessary to expose them to the contempt they merit.

(Here the morning hour expired, and Mr. ADAMS without concluding his remarks, resumed his seat.)

The subject, of course, lies over until the next session, Mr. ADAMS being entitled to the floor.)

consistency, to lower our hitherto high standard of principle, and perhaps sacrifice us in the day of trial.

Belonging, as we now do, to the various political parties, we can readily work our principles in, among them. Our present political ties and sympathies give us a strong hold over our political associates. We should lose all this mode of influence by withdrawing from them. Our withdrawal would be held equivalent to a declaration of war.

A new political organization would have, of course, the combined hostility of the old parties. It is now the interest of each to conciliate us, for the sake of our votes. Were those votes pledged to our own candidates, the other parties would have a common interest in crushing us.

To form a political party, on anti-slavery grounds, would involve needless abandonment of our other political preferences, and therefore would imply, not merely that abolition is the first, but that it is the only public object, in which abolitionists feel interested. This is not true, and to produce such a state of feeling is as undesirable, as it would be impracticable.

To conclude this part of the subject, our true policy is not to turn party politicians, but in politics as elsewhere to stand firm by our principles, and let the politicians come to us.

Of each of the three forms of political action, petitioning, the interrogating of candidates for office, and suffrage, we have a few words to address to you.

We pray you not to weary in the work of petitioning the national and state legislatures. It is the anti-slavery petitions, mainly, that have unlocked the lips of our legislatures, on the subject of abolition, and slowly compelled the news-paper press to recognize, and unwillingly to aid, our movements.

The agitation, caused by the rejection of our petitions, has spread into every village.

This simple mode of action marks our growing strength; it indicates, definitely the people's will; enlightens our adversaries with the knowledge of our numbers; and is felt, by our representatives, as a great support in the discharge of their duty. Depend upon it, the time has come when the members of Congress, from this State, feel relieved, under their great responsibility, by their constituents holding a decided—aye, even a peremptory tone, on the subject of slavery.

We hope women will pour in their petitions to Congress, at its next session, in redoubled numbers.

Let them thank God, and take new courage, for they have done great good.

We feel deeply the value of the earnest labours of women, in our cause. All admit slavery is to be overthrown by a reformed public opinion; but public opinion is not composed of the opinion of either sex exclusively. In every christian and civilized community, self-devoted, intelligent women are among the most important sources of moral and religious influence. Grieffully do they err, who deem lightly of the fact, that in the moral strife between freedom and slavery, the women of the North are with the abolitionists.

Your representatives in the next State Legislature, and for the Congress of 1839, are to be chosen the coming autumn. They should be sensibly interrogated, as to their opinions on the most important matters connected with our cause, on which they may probably be called to act.

After some consideration, the Board have concluded to recommend, for the present year, to the two following subjects:—The immediate abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and the admission of new States into the union, whose Constitutions tolerate slavery.

Our Legislature, at its last session, resolved that Congress ought to take measures for the abolition of slavery, in the District.

This vague language can satisfy no one. When ought Congress to take these measures?

Still, while these principles are however imperfectly represented in the single of the adverse parties, it is natural and right, that individual abolitionists should range themselves, in these struggles, according as their political theories may incline them to take one or the other set of views. This must, however, be done in strict subordination to the interests of that hallowed cause, to which we have pledged our character and influence. Be assured, that not one man, in the very first ranks of the political parties, is too late to question its validity. No man of plain integrity would shrink from the ordeal. The practice is eminently republican and useful. It is calculated to promote political honesty and open dealing, and to put an end to that double-faced and non-committal policy, by which politicians, of inferior abilities and low arts, sometimes crawl into power.

We are far from asserting that these noble principles are actually embodied, in the leaders of either of our political parties. So far from this, the principles are in danger of being brought into disrepute, by the selfish and inconsistent men, who pretend to represent them.

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LITERARY.

ORIGINAL ODE,
Sung at Marlboro' Chapel, August 1, 1838.

Loud Hosannas,
Wave the banners,
Sound the trump of Jubilee!
Thousands springing
Forth are singing
Sweet is Freedom—WE ARE FREE!

From the mountain,
Vale and fountain,
From each shady grove and dell,
List arising,
Joy surprising,
Which shall Britain's glory swell.

On the glory
Of the story,
Freemen, hail the blissful morning,
See ye not the heavenly dawning,
Tyrants quiver,
Shackles shiver,
Freedom's triumph hath begun!

Glorious hour,
Which the power,
Of these arm, O Lord, hath given,
Soon shall waken
Those forsaken,
Those whose spirits still are riven.

Holy Father, speed the day,
Hold thee on thy conquering way,
Then fresh grateful hearts shall rise,
Hallelujahs to the skies!

We'll praise Thee, we'll praise Thee,
Thou glorious conquering One!
We'll praise Thee, we'll praise Thee,
Thou glorious conquering One!
Hosanna! Hosanna!

GOD.

BY DEREHAYA.

O Thou Eternal One! whose presence bright

All space doth occupy—all motion guide—

Unchanged through time's all devastating flight!

Thou only God! There is no God beside!

Being above all beings! Mighty One!

Whom none can comprehend and none explore;

Who fill'st existence with thyself alone;

Embracing all, supporting, ruling o'er—

Being whom we call God—and know no more!

In its sublime research, philosophy

May measure out the ocean deep—may count

The sands, or the sun's rays—but, God! for theo

There is no weight nor measure; none can mount

Up to thy mysteries. Reason's brightest spark,

Though kindled by thy light, in vain would try

To trace thy counsels infinite and dark;

And thought is lost ere thought can soar so high,

Even like past moments, in eternity.

Than from primeval nothingness didst call,

First, chaos, then existence; Lord, on thee

Eternity had its foundation: all

Spring from thee; of light, joy, harmony,

Sole origin; all life, all beauty thine,

Thy word created all, and doth create;

Thy splendor fills all space with thy divine!

Thou art, and wert, and shall be glorious! Great

Life-giving, life-sustaining, Potentate!

By chains th' unmeasured Universe surround,

Upheld by thee, by thee inspired with breath!

Than the beginning with the end hast bound,

And beautifully mingled life and death!

As sparks mount upward from the fiery blaze,

So suns are born, so worlds spring forth from thee,

And, as the sparkles in the sunny rays,

Shine round the silver snow; the pearly

Of heaven's bright army glitters in thy praise.

A million torches, lighted by thy hand,

Unwearied wander through the blue abyss;

They own thy power, accomplish thy command,

All gay with life and eloquent with bliss.

What shall we call them? Piles of crystal light?

A glorious company of golden streams?

Lumps of celestial eth'r, tuning bright?

Sun, lighting system with their joyous beams?

But thou to these art as the moon to night.

Yes! as a drop of water in the sea,

All this magnificence in this is lost;

What are ten thousand worlds, compared to thee?

And what am I? Heaven's unnumbered host,

Though multiplied by myriads, and arrayed

In all the glory of sublimest thought,

I am but an item in the balance weighted,

Against thy greatness—is a cypher, brought

Against infinity! What am I, then? Nought.

Nought—but the effulgence of thy light divine,

Pervading worlds, had reached my bosom too.

Yes! in my spirit doth thy spirit shine,

As shines the sunbeam in a drop of dew,

Nought—but I live, and on hope's pinion fly

Eager toward thy presence; for in thee

I live, and breathe, and dwell; aspiring high,

Even to the throne of thy Divinity,

Iam, O God! and surely THOU MUST BE!

Thou art! directing, guiding all; Thou art!

Direct my understanding, then, to thee:

Control my spirit, guide my wand'ring heart;

Though but an atom, 'midst immensity,

Still, I am something fashioned by thy hand!

I hold a middle rank 'twixt heaven and earth,

On the last verge of mortal being stand,

Close on the realms where angels have their birth,

Just on the boundaries of the spirit land!

The chain of being is complete in me;

In me is matter's last gradation lost,

And the next step is spirit—Deity!

I can command the lightning, a god am I!

Whence came I here, and how? so marvellously

Constructed and conceived! unknown? This clad

Lives surely through some higher energy,

For from himself alone it could not be.

Creator! Yes! Thy wisdom and thy word

Created me! Thou source of life and good!

Then Spirit of my spirit, and my Lord!

Thy light, thy love, in their bright plenitude,

Filled me with an unusual soul to spring

'O'er the abyss of death, and bade it wear

The garment of eternal day, and wing

It heavenly flight beyond this little sphere,

Even to its source—to Thee—it's Author there.

O thought ineffable! O visione bista!

Thought worthless in our conceptions all of Thee.

Yet shall thy shadow image fill our breast,

And wait to image to thy Deity.

God!—slu—alone thy lowly thoughts can soar,

Thus seek thy presence, Be wise and good!

Midst thy vast works admire, obey, adore,

And when the tongue is eloquent no more,

The soul shall speak in tears of gratitude.

LINES.

From the German of Lauerer.

BY J. W. WHITTIER.

Thought after thought, ye throning rise,
Like spring-doves from the startled wood,
Bear like them your sacrifice
Of music unto God!And shall these thoughts of joy and love
Come back again no more to me—

Returning like the patriarch's dove

Wing-wear'y from the eternal sea?

To bear within my longing arms

The promise-bough of kindred skies,

Pluck'd from the green immortal palms

Which shade the bowers of Paradise.

Child of the sea, the mountain stream

From its dark cavern hurries on,

Ceaseless by night and morning's beam,

By evening's star, and noon tide's sun—

Until at last it sinks to rest,

Our wearied, in the waiting sea;

And morns upon its mother's breast—

So turns my soul to Thee.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Friend of Man.

COLONIZATION AND POLITICS! EXPULSION AND HENRY CLAY!—The Emancipator gives us the information which follows:

A few Sabaths ago, ALVAN STEWART, Esq., of this city, by previous invitation and an appointment, delivered a temperance address in Augusta, before the assembled Baptist and Presbyterian congregations of that place, to the mutual edification of the people and their pastors. After the address, a petition to the state legislature against the license law, was signed by a large number of the people assembled. Not long after, he visited Augusta again, to plead the cause of human rights. On this occasion he was arrested by a constable, on a complaint made by himself of his having violated the Sabbath by his temperance labors on the former occasion—and strange to tell—was actually fined one dollar, by a petty justice, who it seems, knew no better than to do so! In making his defence at this trial, which he did between one and three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Stewart had an opportunity of preaching temperance to a large concourse assembled to enjoy their sure triumph, and who, it is presumed, had seldom, if ever been present at a temperance lecture before. The constable complainant, it is said did not hear the lecture of which he complained, and if our information be correct, some of the persons concerned in this seemingly zealous vindication of the Sabbath, have not been wont to be distinguished, heretofore, for any unusual regard for its privileges and claims. This incident may serve to remind us that a false zeal for the Sabbath, inconsistent alike with the design of the Sabbath, and with the best interests of man, for whom the Sabbath was made, was not peculiar to the time of the Savior, but may exist even in our own day. How far this instance of ultra sabbatical zeal harmonises with the complaints of seemingly better men, that the Sabbath and the house of worship are desecrated by appeals for the oppressed poor, and whether the idea of these proceedings was first suggested to his dying hour. The spirit which every consistent lover of his country continues to deplore.

2. Abolitionists are exhorted to refrain from political action as inconsistent with the character of a Christian and a minister. But here is the Rev. Dr. Proudfit exulting in the prospect of political action for the cruel expulsion of two and a half millions of native Americans. The president of the Colonization Society must be made president of the United States, in order to secure this iniquitous legislation! And doctors of divinity (forgetting their own warnings against itinerant evangelists and agents) must traverse the country, and preach up this wicked 'political crusade' in the pulpits, on the Sabbath, and whenever they can collect congregations.

3. We are told that Congress has no power over the slavery of the Southern States, and president Wayland would brand it as a dishonest act to abolish slavery, without southern consent, even in the District of Columbia, where he confesses, we have the legal and constitutional power of doing so! But here we find Dr. Proudfit, agent of the Colonization Society, on behalf of Henry Clay, asserting, in the broadest terms, the power of Congress over the whole subject of slavery in the South—more, the power of *abolishing* as well as *emancipating* the cultivators of southern soil! This goes beyond Alvan Stewart's constitutional argument, just as much as the power of liberating and *banishing* goes beyond the power of simple *liberation*!

4. We have in this announcement, an unexpected solution of an enigma which has long puzzled us. We have been astonished to find one instance after another in which clerical gentlemen, exerting a strong influence against the political action of abolitionists, on the ground that Christians must not 'dabble in the dirty waters of politics'—were, nevertheless, in the midst of their pious horror of political contamination, discovered to be excessively anxious for the political elevation of HENRY CLAY! This was a riddle we could not comprehend. But here we find Dr. Proudfit, agent of the Colonization Society, on behalf of Henry Clay, asserting, in the broadest terms, the power of Congress over the whole subject of slavery in the South—more, the power of *abolishing* as well as *emancipating* the cultivators of southern soil! This goes beyond Alvan Stewart's constitutional argument, just as much as the power of liberating and *banishing* goes beyond the power of simple *liberation*!

5. Henry Clay cannot be President of the United States. His slaveholding, and his pro-slavery course in Congress, were sufficient to exclude him. But his advocacy of the infamous project of expelling one sixth part of the American people from their own country, puts the master beyond further question. Dr. Proudfit may as well give it up first as last. His colonization candidate cannot have the vote of the entire State, and that settles the matter.

LOOK OUT FOR PERSECUTION.

The enemies of our injured and abused colored citizens have formed a great 'State Colonization Society' in New Jersey, auxiliary to the Slaveholder's Negro Shipping Company, at Washington. The whining hypocrites passed the following, with other resolutions:

Resolved, That the objects of this society shall be to circulate information among the inhabitants of this State, on the subject of Colonization—and to secure for the people of color in New Jersey, if they prefer it, a distinct settlement in Liberia, under the control of the American Colonization Society, and to act in concert with the parent institution, at the city of Washington, with the prosecution of their important and benevolent enterprise.

We are a Jerseyman, and we warrant the whole posse of this inquisition of slavery, that they will need all the apparatus of torture and blood which disgraced Papal Spain and Portugal in the barbarous, bloody colored men, from torture to death!

Henry Clay is the presidential candidate of the colonizationists, and the 'political action' of abolitionists is not likely to be exerted in his favor—Hence, finally,

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From the Delaware Journal.

GEORGIA IMPUDENCE REBUKED.

A Georgia Sheriff has arrived at the capital of the State of Maine, to demand to the name of the Executive of the State of Georgia, the delivery of a citizen of Maine, as a fugitive from justice, who, it is said carried off a slave from Georgia in a vessel. Another account is

that the slave got on board of the vessel without the knowledge of the Captain or owner. The slave has been delivered up, and the Georgians now want a free white citizen of the North to make a victim of the

I trouble you for the purpose of apprising you that there are some even in slave states, who feel and acknowledge the evils of slavery, and I believe there would be many opposed to it, if they were to examine into the matter.—Discussion and agitation will make all in favor of antislavery, who are not swayed by prejudice or education.

I trust that you will not be deterred from the discharge of your duty by the denunciations of interested advocates, or the slanders and vilifications of prostitutes press, or the revilements and execrations of heartless dealers in human flesh.

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